

Impact and Integration—Protestantism and Reconstruction of Wenzhou's Geographical Space

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Abstract:

In the 1960s, after Wenzhou became a passive window of British trade with China, Western culture was like a hurricane that got involved in Wenzhou under the influence of religion, affecting its original social structure and cultural patterns. This kind of influence was deeply reflected by Wenzhou Protestantism's adaptation and shaping of the geographical space. The development of Protestantism took churches as the carrier. It emphasized the active adjustment of Wenzhou's original geographical space, respected Wenzhou's traditions, and adapted to local customs in church construction. With the large-scale and specialization of materialized religious landscapes such as churches and dioceses, the role of Protestantism in shaping geographical space became more and more obvious. At the same time, the establishment of social and cultural landscapes such as church schools and hospitals served as a useful supplement to the formation of Wenzhou's new geographic space. Marks of protestant in geographic space reflected the adaptation and growth of the protestant in Wenzhou, reflected the differences in the process of heterogeneous culture dissemination and communication integration, its experience provided reference for dealing with cultural communication in the new era.

Key Words: Wenzhou Protestantism; Materialized religious landscape; Social and cultural landscape; Church; Geographical space

Geographical space, the geographical area where social groups live and produce, belongs to objective reality. The influence of religion on geographical space is the construction of materialistic religious landscape and other social and cultural landscape. Materialistic religious landscape mainly includes religious holy land, sacrificial sites and funeral sites.

As an important representative of materialistic religious landscape, the church is the exclusive place of worship and gathering for Christians, serving as the carrier and interpretation of religious culture. According to their common belief and value system, Christians constantly create and construct the "sacred nature" of the church space, so as to make it valuable and visible. Church building and decoration is not only a symbol of the concentration of worship, and also same time communication, education, health care, charity, and service functions, such as these will undoubtedly help the church spreading its broader religious beliefs.¹ It can be seen that the church is the core of the protestant landscape of Christ. By studying the spatial and temporal changes of the church landscape, the characteristics of the geographical space constructed by Christianity can be analyzed.

In addition to the church and the church related to the formation of the western social and cultural landscapes, such as schools and hospitals also enriched the geographical spatial pattern of modern Wenzhou, different styles of buildings to Wenzhou visual transformation of geographic communities. They formed a beneficial supplement to Wenzhou's original urban appearance with the mixed style and special cultural temperament. Therefore, it is of certain reference value to understand the construction of Wenzhou social space by Christian Protestantism to explore the social and cultural landscape of schools and hospitals. In the following part, we will explore the process of the active construction of the original geographical space pattern by the Christian Protestantism, and explore the ways to shape the geographical space.

THE RELIGIOUS LANDSCAPE OF THE BUDDHIST TEMPLES AND THE TAOIST TEMPLES LINED WITH POLYTHEISTIC BELIEFS

Wenzhou's ancient city was built in the Eastern Jin Dynasty, near the Oujiang River in the north and Huichang lake in the south. The city, 7 miles apart, 5 miles between North and south, constructed by stone and its streets were in masonry structure. Yongjia county, the seat of Wenzhou's Fuzhi, has a winding, undulating wall surrounded by rectangular walls, and the Oujiang River and Huichang lake were natural moats. The whole city had seven gates: Zhenhai Gate in the east, Ruian gate and Yongning Gate in the south, Laifu Gate in the southwest, Yingen Gate and Yongqing Gate in the northwest and Wangjiang Gate in the north. A five-mile street from Ruian Gate in the south to Wangjiang Gate in the north is the main traffic and

¹Lin su-ling, *The Expansion of the Christian Methodist Church in Taiwan and its Spatial Interpretation*(Taiwan, 2002), p. 88.

commercial street in Wenzhou city. At both ends of the street are commercial hubs: the banks of the Oujiang River in north gate (Wangjiang) had the busiest docks in the area, where the Ou customs house and the British consulate are located. Out of the south gate(Ruian)walking to the south, along the ‘Seven paved River Road’,and rich natural resources through the‘Down River Township’ could directly reach Ruian county. People, from the Lower River Township and Ruian County,often went through the South street of Ruian Gate to the Wenzhou urban area for trading or shopping. There were many shops in the streets leading from north to south, dealing in medicine, cloth, leather goods, local specialties and so on.

FIG. 1 Layout of Wenzhou city²FIG. 2 Wenzhou city commercial street in late Qing Dynasty³

An isolated island in the Oujiang River was called ‘the Jiangxin Island’. ‘The ground is only a little above the river and is parallel to Wenzhou city. The island is less than a quarter of a mile long and has no inhabitants except a few monks who run several monasteries. One of the temples was very large. East and west of the island are two ancient towers with a long history. The two towers are the symbol of the Jiangxin Island.⁴This place advocates building pagodas.’⁵ The construction of the tower reflected Wenzhou's historical emphasis on the transportation and commerce industry, while ‘the old Buddhism is more popular than the old’. The impression

²Source: Zhao Xiao-Wei translated and edited, *The social and economic development of wenzhou in modern times -- translated and edited Ou customs trade report and decade report* (Shanghai, 2014).

³Source: William Edward Soothill, *A Mission in China*, Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier 1907, trans. Zhang yongsu, Li xinde (Ningbo, 2011).

⁴The east tower was built in 869 and the west tower in 969. The two towers were built mainly for navigation of ships. They became national historical relics in 1981 and were awarded as world heritage lighthouses by the international navigation standards association in October 1997.

⁵ Ou Customs, ‘Guangxu Three Years (1877) Ou Customs Trade Report’, in Zhao Xiao-Wei translated and edited, *The social and economic development of wenzhou in modern times -- translated and edited Ou customs trade report and decade report*, pp.10-11.

of the times of the common people and the worship of the Buddha and god 'is vividly reflected in the Jiangxin temple with continuous incense and fire.'⁶As a microcosm of Wenzhou's own polytheistic beliefs, Buddhist temples were scattered throughout the city's bustling districts. In addition to the

Buddhist temples, there were many temples and temples in sudoni nunnery in wenxian, such as Guanyinliao, Qingyun temple, Sishui hall and Taishan Palace.⁷

As for the local temples in Wenzhou, pastor William Edward Soothill described the situation in detail in his biography *A Mission in China*:

*There are forty-four temples like Wenzhou ... We easily attribute thirteen to Buddhism, six to Taoism and four to Confucius temples. There is a temple of Dongyue Emperor, the King's temples of Pingshui, the King's temples of medicine, the Red Emperor's temples, the Kuixing Pavilion, the White Horse Palace, the temple of the Sea, the temple of Heavenly Concubine, which is in charge of marriage, and so on.*⁸

These temples were scattered, both in prosperous places. For example, the Jiangxin temple was located at the port wharf of the Jiangxin Island. There were also some hills near the east and west gate, such as the Red Emperor Temple at the foot of the Haitan mountain. There were also many temples dedicated in the city, such as the City God Temple, the Dongyue Emperor temple, Tianfei Palace. In the more remote urban alleys at that time, there was a temple such as the king of medicine temple. Behind every temple, there was a need for faith in reality. The Confucius Temple represented the Confucian traditional culture to the establishment of high status, the existence of the Buddhist Temple and the Taoist temple represented the beliefs of the genetic history, and Dongyue Emperor temple, smoothing water King temple, the Tanah Lot Temple, the Tianfei Palace ,represented the deep mountain, natural disasters, such as the survival environment of Wenzhou people praying for stability, the psychological demands of peace. The idols in various temples were the guardians of Wenzhou People's Daily production and life. 'every Chinese object has a god.'⁹ Pastor Irving Scott, the last Western missionary to leave Wenzhou, described the deities and temples in Wenzhou at the time, 'the land is full of temples and shrines, everywhere for the gods, to meet the diverse needs of people. People who were afraid of the sea had their own temples to worship, gamblers to worship the shrines of the lucky gods, students and scholars to go to kuixing pavilion in addition to the Confucius temple. In addition to the Buddhist temples, there were the temples of the red emperor, the temple of the

⁶ Liu Xing-Yuan, 'A biography of the Pastor Cao', originally published in *New Drawing Report* , 1892, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 132-134.

⁷ 《Shun Pao》 (Shanghai edition), January 10, 1882 (the eighth year of the reign of Emperor Guangxu of the Qing Dynasty), no.3447.

⁸ William Edward Soothill, *A Mission in China*, pp.158-9.

⁹ Ibid., p.160.

lady with the ceiling, and the temples of the gods who specialize in solving women's problems.¹⁰ For the prosperous urban area of Wenzhou, the temple hall occupies a relatively important position in the whole urban structure. The customs of Wenzhou people who attached importance to polytheism deeply influence the layout of the city. In the reflection of numerous temples, the diversity of Wenzhou's local beliefs was reflected. At the same time, the Yamen governments, schools and ancestral halls, which represented the real power, are distributed among the temples of the President of the forest, forming a geographical picture of mutual integration and coexistence. It could be said that the layout of Wenzhou City reflected the characteristics of Zhejiang coastal areas, that was, emphasis on commercial activities, shops everywhere, layout and concentration, but also reflected the indigenous beliefs in Wenzhou, that was, multi-god faith was embodied in the structure of the geographical landscape. From the belief motivation of the people, the pragmatic tendency and the utilitarian psychology of begging for protection were more obvious. Therefore, the utilitarian nature of Buddhism, Taoism or traditional Confucian cultural belief behind this geographical landscape was obvious.

More emphasis on pragmatism, utilitarianism god belief system had rooted in Wenzhou, these beliefs were attached geographical landscape in Wenzhou had formed a very characteristic of religious communities, landscape under the baptism of time slowly influenced the local people's life. In 1867, with the arrival of George Stott, the new belief system represented by Christian Protestantism began to spread, and the geographical pattern of Wenzhou was faced with the opportunity of reconstruction.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF WENZHOU CHURCH IN THE EARLY YEARS

As the carrier of religion, the church provided the believers with shared values, beliefs and norms in the form of a physical space. What the church represented is not only a place of worship, but also a symbol of the distinction between christians and non-believers, which played a role in building a spiritual community among believers. In order to expand their audiences in Wenzhou diocese, missionaries from the United Methodist Free Churches and the China Inland Mission had been committed to the construction of churches and dioceses, and many churches had been built in the early stage. Funding for the building of the church was generally funded by grants from the British council, house rent, corn rent, and church services. Generally speaking, the size, scale and style of the church had different characteristics in different stages of development. The more powerful the church, the more followers it had, the more support it had from the missionary societies, the larger the church, the more beautiful the decoration, and the higher its aesthetic value.

In general, the development of Wenzhou Christian protestant church could be divided into three periods: 1867 -1883, 1884-1900 and 1901-1907.

¹⁰ Irving Scott, *Pictures of Wenchow*(Carlgate press, 1947), p.76.

The first stage: from desolation to spark (1867-1883). At this stage, the China Inland Mission and the United Methodist Free Churches had limited development. The churches built were mainly in the main urban area, the old city of Wenzhou. Preliminary informal street church, no matter from street church facilities or in scale and formal church had larger gap, and the identity of the city in Wenzhou degree was not high, and much took the form of lease, there was no guarantee. In 1877, Wenzhou officially opened a trade port. According to the treaty, missionaries could preach and purchase land to build a hall. George Stott used his savings and money to buy a piece of land in the Garden Lane of Five Horses Street and built the Garden Lane Church, the first place of worship in southern Zhejiang Province.

Garden Lane Church sat east facing west, for the brick structure, fully absorbing the Wenzhou traditional wooden beam structure, combined with the gable, post, grey dove, coupon door and window, etc, which had the symbol of western architectural style. Therefore, the architectural style of the church was characterized by the combination of China and the west, and also reflected the missionary's desire to win over Wenzhou's faithful with the traditional architectural form of the church.

In 1878, the Garden Lane Church was opened to the public (1878). Located in the heart of Wenzhou's old city, Happy Meeting Place Lane was located in the area where the church on the west side of the city and the surrounding clerical residential area and small classrooms were purchased by Robert Inkerman Exley with 380 Mexican silver yuan.

These two churches were the earliest churches built by English protestants in Wenzhou and the basis for the expansion of the diocese in the future, opening the way for the The China Inland Mission and the association to spread their cloth in Wenzhou. In addition to Garden Lane Church and Chengxi Street Church, the preaching branch sites have also been established in Yueqing County (1880, The United Methodist Free Churches), Pingyang County (1880, China Inland Mission), Yongjia County (1884, The United Methodist Free Churches), Cangnan County and Taishun County (1884, China Inland Mission) outside Wenzhou City. The overall scale of the church was small.

The second stage: from destruction to reconstruction (1884-1900). In 1884, the first petition broke out, and the Garden Lane Church and the Chengxi Street Church were destroyed. After the case was over, under pressure from British officials, the mainland and our club would be compensated for the loss of property. In 1885 (The eleventh year of Emperor Guangxu's reign), William Edward Soothill used the reparations of the first petition, the donation of the church of England and the savings of Soothill and his wife to rebuild the church on the west street of our city, where it was burned down. In 1886, the reconstruction of the Chengxi Street church was completed, which was divided into street church and church. The Garden Lane Church was also rebuilt in 1890. In 1891, pastor J. W. Heywood went to Wenzhou to help William Edward Soothill's church. In 1897, as the number of followers increased, William Edward Soothill

began to build a new hall in the spring of that year, and the church was expanded in 1898. In addition to the reconstruction of the original church damaged during the Church Case, the two churches also set up corresponding mission centers in Ryan, Qingtian County and Ouhai District, which later evolved into churches.

Table 1 Points of Christian branches established in Wenzhou counties from 1885 to 1900¹¹

| County name | Christian lodge | Representative church |
|--------------------------------|--|----------------------------------|
| Yongjia county, | Maple grove lodge (The United Methodist Free Churches, 1885) Hoi ha street branch (The United Methodist Free Churches, 1891) ¹² Zhangbao lodge (The United Methodist Free Churches, 1893) Ouhai district branch (The China Inland Mission, 1894) Shangxu chapter (The United Methodist Free Churches, 1899) | Green lotus church ¹³ |
| Ruian county | Ruian on county branch (The China Inland Mission, 1890) | Nga hoi street church (1895) |
| Qingtian county, ¹⁴ | Qingtian county branch (The United Methodist Free Churches, 1890) | |
| Yueqing county | Hongqiao branch (The United Methodist Free Churches, 1890) ¹⁵ Liushi sub-committee (The United Methodist Free Churches, 1894) | Hongqiao church (1890) |
| Pingyang county | Pingyang county branch (The China Inland Mission, 1900) | Simon church |
| Yuhuan hall | Jade ring hall branch (1900) | |

¹¹ This form is based on the relevant data in Zhi Huaxin, *Wenzhou Christianity* (Zhejiang Christian association, 2000).

¹² Qiaoxia street, located in the southwest of Yongjia county, was the thirty-first capital of Xiangui township in Qing Dynasty.

¹³ Bilian, also known as Bian Lian, is located in the northwest of Yongjia County.

¹⁴ Qingtian, belong to Wen Tao in state during the Qing Dynasty, the early of the republic of China belongs to the pressure-state-response model, the jurisdiction of the part after the founding of new Wenzhou in China, because is located in the middle and lower reaches of the oujiang river, close to the always fine, so glad the United Methodist Free Churches also set up a branch point in Qingtian.

¹⁵ Hongqiao, hence the name of new city, is in the middle of Yueqing City.

The China Inland Mission and the United Methodist Free Churches had spread all over the counties and townships of Wenzhou. Among them, Yongjia's branch organization was the most complete and the fastest-growing. It formed the center of Yongjia and covered the layout of branch locations in Ruian, Yueqing, Pingyang, Yuhuan and Qingtian. From the branch's situation, the United Methodist Free Churches paid more attention to the establishment of local chapter than the the China Inland Mission. The number and scale of the clubs are also larger than that of the mainland. The two basically formed a regional layout: the United Methodist Free Churches mainly occupied the Yongjia, Yueqing, and Qingtian areas in the northwest of the Minjiang River, while the The China Inland Mission mainly was in Pingyang, south of the city area. Cangnan, Taishun and other places had their heels. As for Wenzhou City and Ruian, it was the common influence area of the two churches. All the clubs listed above had subsequently developed into the General Assembly Hall. These churches were known for their grand architecture, strict adherence to the 'Gothic' style and large scale, and were represented by Hongqiao Church and Bilian Church.

The third stage: from the poor society to Wenzhou's masses (1901-1907). Under the leadership of Chinese priests, the church gradually became independent, and the construction of the church also reflected the extensive participation of local believers. From the boxing riots of 1900 to the emergence of church self-reliance in 1907, church construction slowed down from the previous period and the impact on local churches was much less severe than before. During this period, the development of the church was stable, but the number of churches built by missionaries did not increase. Instead, hospitals and new schools were built successively. At the same time, Wenzhou had a batch of church presided over by the local believers built and Wenzhou local Christians began to consciously advocated that Chinese should have their own church, their own church Christian, and apart from the foreign church.

THE CHURCH AND WENZHOU URBAN AND RURAL GEOGRAPHICAL SPACE REMODELING

Throughout the protestant churches in Wenzhou nearly 40 years of development, the fate of the church in the era of volatile changed under the background of the ups and downs, the development of Wenzhou churches also experienced from simple facilities to take shape, from urban to rural, form a certain style characteristic on the layout. The following part will discuss the layout style of Wenzhou church in this period from three aspects: architecture, geographical distribution and cultural psychology.

It had the characteristics of blending China and the west, and the functions of the church were diverse. At this time, there were three styles of church architecture: Roman style, Gothic style and Chinese style. The mashup of architectural styles was related to the construction capabilities of the builders on the one hand, and on the other hand to the fact that the missionaries were adapting to the believer's psychological needs in order to gain believers or be

limited to insufficient resources and local materials. In Chengxi Street Church, for example, Chengxi Street Church with the gothic style, but a lot of practice was not authentic, the main facade gables contour was roughly triangular, with the double slope roof in the structure of the form was the corresponding. Exterior wall was given priority to with Chinese style quadrangles, decorate with red brick frame and line, double slope roof, choose Chinese style tile roof, eaves with 3 leaf veins done decorate, brick structure, roof structure for the herringbone wooden frame support. Church east-west rectangular plane made the original building gables the facade of the church, the traditional ideas and the western church facade form, 'gable of traditional Chinese architecture, door head, rich folk decoration, into the facade of Chengxi Street Church in Wenzhou, make Wenzhou Chengxi Street Church to be different from Western original Gothic church facade appearance.'¹⁶ These churches with the characteristics of eastern and western architecture had become a unique architectural complex in the local area. The style of wooden and stone buildings had also revitalized the ancient architectural style of heavy wooden buildings in Wenzhou. In church function, not only had a hearing, for people in the outside on the streets of the church, there were also special for religious worship, party, and the church was part of responsibility for education, medical services. The early Wenzhou missionary stations were divided into residential areas, churches and small classrooms for practical needs. The characteristics of functional zoning of church in urban areas also influenced the segmentation of rural church. The diversity of church function was the result of convenient missionary and attracting believers, and it is also the result of the sinicization of Christian church. However, in order to gain more followers from non-Christian belief systems such as Buddhism and Taoism, the United Methodist Free Churches and the China Inland Mission formed their own characteristics in the geographical selection of churches.

First, most churches choose to build in densely populated areas with large crowds. The mission of missionaries was to attract more non-Christians to join the ranks of Christians, and the church layout was more convenient to expand its influence in places with large crowds. The Garden Lane Church and the West Street Church in the city's downtown area were built in a crowded place with shops and lots of pedestrians. Most of the village churches also chose the important arteries. For example, the branch church that the United Methodist Free Churches established in Hongqiao in Yueqing County was probably located in a "populated area," and the emphasis was on Hongqiao's proximity to the seashore, simple and honest people, and mountains and rivers. The geographical location of the village lied in a wide range of shops, which were located in a wide area.¹⁷

¹⁶ Yang jie, 'a study on modern typical church architecture in zhejiang', Master's thesis, School of Architecture and Engineering, Zhejiang University, 2007, pp. 31-32.

¹⁷ Lang Hui-Zhi, 'Wenzhou Jiahui separate branch calendar', published in the first volume of the *Chinese and Western Church Newspaper*, no. 10, 1895, pp. 3-5.

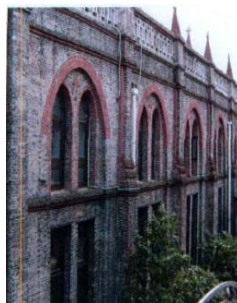
Second, it is intersected with other religious landscapes. In terms of landscape layout, Christian church chose to intersect with other religious buildings, which did not cause direct impact on other religious landscapes. Wenzhou temples and other fanes were mainly distributed in the north of the island and mountains near the city gates a canopy form the Jiangxin Island and its surrounding area as the center of the temple worship space, and has a tendency to expand to the surrounding. The ancestral hall based on clan has become a prominent cultural landscape in Wenzhou, forming a spatial pattern centering on the urban area of Wenzhou. To avoid conflict, Wenzhou protestant Christian cultural landscape is concentrated in Wenzhou city's relatively barren zone, and ancestral temple coexistence in the country, thus forming with Buddhism, Taoism, and traditional culture landscapes, such as religious and folk belief staggered distribution.

Third, it presented the characteristics of urban and rural areas in the region. The early missionary work of George Stott and William Edward Soothill in Wenzhou city was not smooth. Perhaps realizing that the urban population was more hostile to Christianity and foreigners, Stott and Soothill alike turned their missionary hopes to the remote villages of Wenzhou. The result proved to be wise, and the Christian cause of Wenzhou counties gradually developed. It was worth mentioning that during George Stott 's tenure, he also established a regular visiting system for urban churches and rural churches, and formed a diocese organization with urban churches as the center and rural churches as branches.

FIG. 3 east elevation of Chengxi Church



FIG. 4 north elevation of Chengxi Church



However, the missionaries also found some problems in the process of building church fulcrum and church in the countryside. For example, in densely populated, economically developed and well-traveled areas, missionary efforts were not better than those in remote areas. On the contrary, there were more religious believers in remote rural areas with simple folk customs. They came to realize that, later missionary effect except was affected by the natural conditions of the mission area itself, to a great extent, also by missionary methods, the church of the local

traditional adaptation and degree of restriction. Therefore, the two great differences will pay more attention to the cultural and psychological aspects of Wenzhou tradition in the process of missionary work.

In consideration of the local acceptance, the church and other religious landscapes had reshaped the nature of the church to adapt to the Wenzhou tradition. One manifestation of this was the expansion of the public nature of the church. A church (chapel) was different from a Buddhist temple or a Taoist temple. Compared with the temple's Taoist view, the church was a mysterious space, somewhat mysterious and solemn, separated from the secular life. Most of the time, the church did not hold temple fairs, nor did it open to the public, and people were not allowed to visit it at will. Church bishops, priests, elders, priest, monks, nuns and other members of the clergy evangelist, held a mass, worship, and the holy things of pure religious activity sites, is a Christian religious life. Apart from being open only on major holidays, Christmas, other times were generally open only to members of the church, and non-Christians were not allowed to visit or disturb them at will. In the traditional Chinese concept, the religious place was public, no matter what kind of believer you were, as long as there was a desire for blessing, you could come to the meeting, and there was no obvious time limit. For the polytheistic Wenzhou people, the idols represented by Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism could be worshiped at the same time. Therefore, when the Western church space concept and China's local space concept came into contact, there would inevitably be friction and collision. The church service incident on the Chengxi Church that opened the preface of the Wenzhou Anti-missionary Case was actually a case of conflict between Chinese and western space concepts. At that time, on Saturday evening, the Chengxi Church worship was held behind closed doors. Because the mystery of the church caused many people's curiosity and onlookers, a child still knocked open the door, which caused William Edward Soothill within the church to feel a great violation and harassment, so he scolded and protested the disrespect of the onlookers. It was such a legitimate response that makes local people who cannot understand the idea of 'involuntary space inviolable' become angry, and thus evolves into the blind riots that happen later. Two years after the incident, the newspaper *Shun Pao* reflected:

'The design of religious religions is not for the purpose of making money for missionary purposes. The church's premises, the Buddhist temple of Judea, took stillness as the first priority. Occasionally there were visitors inside, who would be treat as guests, did not allow to contend for a noisy and peaceful.'¹⁸

The commentary of *Shun Pao* not only saw the privacy and sanctity of being a religious site, but also called for the necessary respect from society. It also pointed out that the church needs to increase its openness to the public, formulate relevant regulations and treat visitors with

¹⁸ "A further discussion on the recent history of pilose antler city" is contained in 《Shun Pao》 (Shanghai edition), March 17, 1886 (the 12th year of the reign of Emperor Guangxu of Qing Dynasty), no. 4638.

courtesy. With the increasing understanding of Chinese cultural psychology, the missionaries in Wenzhou began to pay attention to the echo between the church and local traditional psychology. After the Anti-missionary Case, William Edward Soothill and others recognized the existence of this problem and determined to reconcile. In 1884, Soothill pointed out in a letter to the headquarters of the Society of the United Methodist Free Churches that since then the church buildings must respect the mutual space, 'the new church must be apart and on the street, so as to week at night singing voice does not affect the others'.¹⁹ At the same time, the opportunity to open schools and clinics will be used to increase the openness of church activities to the public in an effort to remove the social label of the church as a 'plot place'.

In addition to increasing the openness of the church, British missionaries such as William Edward Soothill had also adjusted the seating arrangement within the church to maximize compliance with traditional Chinese customs. Church seating is arranged in such a way that both men and women are seated separately. The transformation of the church's attributes actively responded to Wenzhou's traditional customs and people's psychology. These changes have greatly enhanced the ability of the church to adapt in Wenzhou, and have enhanced the acceptance and tolerance of Christian Protestantism in Wenzhou.

INFLUENCE OF MISSIONARY SCHOOLS AND HOSPITALS ON URBAN LAYOUT

'William Edward Soothill once said that missionary work in China is like a three-legged stool. Church is one leg, education and medical treatment are the other two legs.'²⁰ The establishment of education and medical services was an auxiliary tool for missionaries to come to China. However, the establishment of schools and hospitals, the product of education and medical materialization, has greatly enriched the form of regional architecture and changed the original appearance of the towns. Early missionary schools(e.g., the Benevolence Private school of the China Inland Mission) and medical clinics(For example, the house of Dr. Arthur William Douthwaite act leasing as clinic premises) were attached to missionaries' residential area, with inconspicuous degree of identity As the art school (1903), the Dingley hospital (1897, incorporated into Blyth Hospital Wenchow) and Blyth Hospital Wenchow (1906), the construction of the hospital, the buildings with distinctive Chinese and Western characteristics form a state of agglomeration and form a cluster of buildings with high marks in Wenzhou. The school of arts and literature was appraised as 'the most dazzling symbol of Wenzhou port city' by the *Word Forest Western Newspaper*.

¹⁹ *The United Methodist Free Churches Magazine*, 1885, No.265. Quoted in Shen Jia: *Finding • William Edward.Soothill Missionary and Modern China*, Xinxing Publishing House 2013, p. 69.

²⁰ Shen Jia: *Finding • William Edward. Soothill Missionary and Modern China*, p. 180.

Another building comparable to the art and literature hall was the Blyth Hospital Wenchow. It was designed by British Christian G.W. Bolshaw and modeled after the architecture of Guy's Hospital in London. The theorems established earlier than that of bayard hospital were unique in style design. Theorem of hospital internal partition mainly included a large of the outpatient clinic, a chapel as a waiting room, an ward with an accommodation of two dozen people and bathroom, kitchen, opening on the side of pharmacy in hospital. Hospital building materials from local, Wenzhou rock rich in resources, bluestone is used to lay metope, hospital house using the wood for the beam, modelling is unique, and hospital front door along the spire is a axisymmetric with curved lines. On the lintel of the gate, it was written in block letters on the four Chinese characters "theorem of hospital", and a triangle area engraved with circular patterns was designed above the lintel. No matter house eaves corner, still housetop, its form cannot be classified simply at Chinese style or British style. It is this "strange" shape of the building in Wenzhou city, with the surrounding low stone buildings, and jiangxin island buddhist temple, the view of the road echo each other.

Although the hospital and school were only located in a remote area of the city, they gradually became the central area of Wenzhou city and became the landmark of the prosperous area of the county. The western hospitals represented by theorem hospital and Blyth hospital have a high degree of identification in Wenzhou city, which has the uniqueness and identifiability of social and cultural landscape. Them with city, west street, garden lane, and of art school, such as the building of the community, both affect the style of other counties in the new building in Wenzhou, has greatly enriched the old city layout, to a certain extent promoted the Wenzhou city pattern of the late change.

CONCLUSION

Reviewing the process of the integration of Protestantism into Wenzhou, it can be found that the church has actively and consciously adapted and constructed Wenzhou's geographical space in order to win public recognition. On the basis of respecting and adapting to the original spatial layout and local customs, the protestant propagandists expanded their discourse power in Wenzhou through the construction of churches, schools and hospitals. This practice did achieve the expected goal later, and the identity of the 'guest' of the Christian Protestantism was gradually blurred, becoming a member of Wenzhou people's belief system in the long run of time. In addition to serving the purpose of missionary service, these buildings of different styles emerged on the land of Wenzhou, which directly changed the traditional geographical pattern of the place. The new Christian buildings were intersected with the old local religious buildings and living areas, and there was no direct conflict in space. At the same time, because of its high degree of identity, protestant's western architectural community once became a focal point of the city of Wenzhou, Wenzhou city layout and the architectural transformation of later also had long-term implications.

Since the reform and opening up, the urbanization of Wenzhou has been speeding up. Many old buildings had become memories of the photos, and commercial buildings have been built on the original site. The same is true of Wenzhou's churches, where it is hard to find small church buildings that have been damaged or rebuilt, except for the more famous ones, such as Chengxi Street Church, which is well preserved and continues to be used. Later, the art and literature school evolved into a public mochi primary school, which continued to play the role of serving education. The Dingley hospital was later incorporated into Blyth hospital and became the predecessor of Wenzhou central hospital. A century ago, therefore, geographical spatial signature of the protestant in Wenzhou is not away with the passage of time, but has been affecting the development of the city residents and the changes of lifestyle.